Ireland.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

POPERY LAWS.

Vultis exemplo majorum augere rem Romanam, *victos in Civitatem accipiendo?* Materia crescendi per summam gloriam suppeditat. Certè id firmissimum longè imperium est, *quò obedientes guadent.* Nostrum enim fuit efficere, ut omnium rerum vobis ad Consulendum *potestas esset*; vestrum est decernere, *quod optimum vobis reique publicæ sit.*

LIV.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY

GEORGE Lord Viſ. TOWNSHEND:

LORD LIEUTENANT GENERAL AND GENERAL GOVERNOR OF IRELAND.

AND TO THE

LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL,

AND

COMMONS,

IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

THESE

OBSERVATIONS

ARE, WITH THE PROFOUNDEST SUBMISSION AND RESPECT

DEDICATED

BY THE

AUTHOR.

BRITISH & FOREIGN

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

POPERY LAWS.

IN every Conſtitution, political, as well as natural, there are original ſprings and principles by which the œconomy of the whole is conducted: ſome communicate vigour, and promiſe longevity; others, ſeemingly performing the functions, and occaſionally promoting the purpoſes of life, tend ultimately to its diſſolution. They are the ſeveral components of a complicated machine, acting and acted upon alternately; now co-operating, now counter-working, as events favour, or accidents affect their ſeveral powers. Hence therefore, the great ſtrength of attention, and the great exertion of ſkill, neceſſary to produce all the Good, and remedy every Evil which ſuch a Conſtitution is capable of admitting. This is properly the province of the Legiſlature in every Country; and particularly in our own, where power becomes either a remote, or an immediate delegation from the people, this taſk of managing the ſprings, or correcting the deviations of the ma-

chine of Government, will be the more difficult. A free people muſt be humoured in the habits, and governed by the principles, good and bad, to which they have been long accuſtomed; and changes even for the better ſhould be cautiouſly made, without giving any violent ſhock to their prejudices. In ſome caſes, certain diſorders muſt be left to themſelves, to work off noxious humours: it being more prudent to take their cure from the hand of time, than to precipitate remedies which never operate profitably, when they are adminiſtered unſeaſonably. In more hopeful caſes, however, this work of time may be ſafely anticipated; and *when it can*, heſitation would be imprudent, and delay pernicious. The lingering diſeaſe may fatigue, the growing hectic may alarm, the patient: and a *new* remedy will be adopted the ſooner, that the *old* contributed but little to the relief, and ſtill leſs to the recruit of nature, in any ſtage of the diſorder.

To apply theſe general obſervations to our own caſe, it ſhould be noticed, that after the reduction of the old Iriſh natives, on the commencement of the ſeventeenth century, our Conſtitution, then in its infancy, exhibited uncommon marks of vigour. That after ſuffering violent convulſions in the time of Charles I; it ſoon recovered new ſtrength, and from a promiſing ſtate of youth immediately after the Reſtoration of Charles II, it arrived by quick approaches to maturity in the reign of William the third.

It ſhould be remembered alſo, that ſoon after the demiſe of that great Monarch, this blooming face on our affairs was overcaſt; a cloud reſted upon it, thin in the beginning, but thickened by time. It came on gradually, and was ſubmitted to as a *tranſient* inconvenience, which ſpeculative zeal imagined, would be repaid by *laſting* future advantages. It conſequently gave no alarm; and the ſlight put upon it was the greater, as it fell only on the weaker part of the nation: the labouring and more numerous, but at the ſame time the moſt odious of any, who profeſſed a religion different from that of the eſtabliſhment. We waited a long time for the expected benefit, but it did not arrive; our languor encreaſed, and for ſome years paſt it very naturally made its progreſs backward, from the inferior people, to the community in general; other cauſes concurred of late in this retrograde progreſs, till (notwithſtanding all the vigour of the adminiſtration) it began to affect thoſe members, who from their ſituation in life, are the fartheſt removed from public diſtreſs of any kind. The cauſe I have mentioned is a capital one, and in perpetual operation. Happily perhaps, for us, it can be eaſily removed if ever we ſet about it, or think ourſelves ſafe in doing ſo; it was laid in angry times, and in the fears of our anceſtors that great evils impended over this nation from men recently diſarmed, and who having loſt the *power* of injuring us, yet retained the *inclination*. However

juſt thoſe fears might be, they ſhould not, certainly, extend to any legal diſqualification on any ſet of men, to render us *durable* ſervice; ſince their diſability to ſuch ſervice muſt undoubtedly involve a *durable* evil: and ſince any ſtrength gained *by them* muſt be ſo much acquiſition in our favour, to be turned *againſt them* on an emergency. Our real ſtrength muſt ariſe from the ſoundneſs of our Conſtitution, and from the circulation of its benefits. Should the principal of thoſe benefits be forbid to the greater part of our labouring people, to the landholder, to the citizen, and to the yeoman; the hand of induſtry is *actually* and *effectually* cramped, from no neceſſity on earth, but what is impoſed by our thinking that ſuch men hold principles to which themſelves ſeem to be ſtrangers: I mean principles inconſiſtent with the ſafety of our *civil* government. I ſhall prove in the ſequel, that what I inſinuate is no paradox; hiſtory and ſtubborn facts ſhall be my guide. We may therefore deſiſt from charging the wiſer part among theſe men with *principles which they abhor*; other Proteſtant ſtates have done ſo long ſince, and take their Catechiſm (ſuch as it is) from themſelves, not from others who would faſten a different one upon them. In fact, honeſt men enlightened by knowledge, can not profeſs *two* Religions: one for the public to *deceive* it, another for private conſcience to *deceive themſelves*. Such men may be orthodox in their civil faith, and when they are, they can not be the objects of any penal

laws, detrimental to the public; tho' were their numbers but ſmall, the injury could not be great. *As a multitude*, their inconnection, their diſability, their lazineſs, their deſpondency, their beggary, muſt not only weaken the whole community, but affect its very vitals. You make them mere birds of paſſage: and by giving them no encouragement to improve, to drain, or to incloſe the lands you let them for a ſhort time, and on rack rents, you prepare them for their flight, and injure yourſelf greatly. You neceſſarily import the ſubſiſtance of the manufacturer, the artizan, and but too often of the greater part of the people, from diſtant regions: and reſign to foreign agriculture, the ſtamina of public proſperity!

In truth the little ſtrength gained, the great weakneſs incurred by the indiſcriminate operation of our penal laws, call aloud for alteratives; nor ſhould diſguſt to a *new* remedy, nor diffidence in the hand that offers it, nor fondneſs for an *old* preſcription, ineffectual for ſeventy years paſt, prevail againſt a *probable*, or even *poſſible* change for the better; ſuch eſpecially as can be attended neither with danger or hazard, and from whoſe operation ſome uſeful knowledge muſt certainly be gained of the *weak* foundation or *real* ſolidity of our former judgments. Such an advantage is not to be lightly thrown away. A retroſpect to *cauſes* which perhaps we miſtook, and to *conſequences* which we have long felt, may put a clue into our hands for guiding us to uſeful truths

thro' the labyrinth of opinion, in which we have wandered but too long. It may alſo help to a ſolution of ſome queſtions very important to our true intereſts, in this happy repoſe for ſuch an examination: In the firſt place, whether meaſures expedient in certain circumſtances, might not be highly injurious to public proſperity, when ſuch circumſtances no longer exiſt, nor can poſſibly return? Whether ill information had any ſhare in diſpoſing of our former determinations, relatively to the diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments? And laſtly, whether a ſucceſſion of facts has *contradicted* or *juſtified* our judgments of men and things, ſince our deviation from the plan of policy eſtabliſhed by K. WILLIAM III. for the proſperity of this kingdom?

The means of happineſs to any country are two-fold: drawn on the *one* hand from its *natural* advantages, on the *other* from the wiſdom of its *political inſtitutions*; *either* may lay the foundation, nothing but the union and co-operation *of both* can erect the edifice of public proſperity. On ſuch a rock ours has been built by the late King William, and if we have removed any of the pillars which ſupported that edifice, it is time, *in this day of leiſure for it*, to replace them. That the preſent adminiſtration will lend a helping hand, we have no reaſon to doubt; as indeed we have had repeated proofs of the beſt diſpoſition towards this nation in every act of executive government, ſince the ſucceſſion of the preſent

Royal Family took place. The natural advantages of this iſland are ſpread before us, not only with a liberal, but profuſe hand. Surrounded on all ſides with the moſt fruitful coaſts; poſſeſſed of the ſafeſt harbours; happy in a moderate climate; happier ſtill in the fecundity of our ſoil; peculiarly advantaged by our ſituation between the old and new world. Theſe are the bounties of Providence to this nation. *On the other hand*, our civil conſtitution ſettled on unſhaken foundations ſoon after the Revolution in *eighty eight*; all party contentions about power, long ſince at an end. Property aſcertained by *old laws*, guarded by *old preſcription*, fortified by *every legal ſanction*; frequent ſeſſions of the legiſlature thro' a period of eighty years, *uninterrupted from foreign hoſtility or domeſtic rebellion*. A new improvement of the conſtitution by more frequent elections of our repreſentatives in parliament; all parties revering the preſent eſtabliſhment; united in loyalty to the ſame prince; ſteady in obedience to the ſame laws. Theſe are the proviſions which an excellent conſtitution, ſtrengthened by length of time, has made for improving the advantages which our ſoil and ſituation intitle us to: and though all this be undeniably a fair repreſentation, as far as I have deduced it; yet I am ſenſible how readily it might be rejected by a ſtranger of any curioſity, who ſhould take a ſurvey in perſon, of the preſent face of nature, and of the condition of the people in this iſland. To what

has been ſo truly advanced in our favour, he would oppoſe facts equally undeniable; the miſerable appearance of the country after this repoſe of eighty years, our fields uncultivated, our waſtes unreclaimed, our labouring people deſtitute of food and raiment; our roads and villages infeſted by vagrant beggars; in *many* parts houſes abandoned: in *moſt*, no houſes built, no improvements made. Numbers of our manufacturers yearly on the wing: others with what monied property they can acquire, flying for ſecurity to foreign lands: ſtill greater numbers, under the compulſion of *invincible diſtreſs*, turning exiles in their own defence; and to complete all, public credit at the loweſt ebb, and bankruptcies in every quarter of the kingdom! All this, ſuch a traveller would oppoſe to the repreſentation given above, and he would have no heſitation in pronouncing, that *in a country ſo highly favoured by nature*, the inhabitants could not be miſerable, *without ſome defect in our laws*.

Whether any laws enacted within the preſent century, and ſtill in force, are defective, or operated differently from the intention of the legiſlature, may be well worthy of conſideration. I enter into ſuch a diſquiſition, with all the deference due to the wiſdom of our repreſentatives, and with ſome confidence, as I apply to men who cannot be deceived by mine, or any other writer's miſtakes, relatively to the good of their country; but who, however, may want to be

reminded, rather than informed, of the truths I unfold. To ſuch men, enlightened by knowledge, and inſtructed by experience, ſuch an application as the preſent, ſhould properly be made, as it muſt be *from them*, and *them alone*, that a redreſs of our preſent grievances can be obtained. I am alſo the more emboldened to offer the following hints, as moſt of the arguments which run through this ſhort tract, have been borrowed from as able men, and as eminent patriots, as the preſent age has produced.

The capital evils which were thus brought upon us *gradually*, from a *tolerable* to a *weak* ſtate, and from *that* to our preſent exhauſted condition, cannot with juſtice be imputed to any adminiſtration; and he who would charge them on the *preſent*, muſt have but a poor alternative in his choice, between his real or pretended ignorance: they have ariſen chiefly from two *principal* ſources; from our *wealthy* Gentry who deſert this country, and from our *waſting* and *waſted* Papiſts, who remain in it; from thoſe who eat their bread in foreign lands, and thoſe who oblige us to eat the bread of foreign ſoils here at home; in a word, from thoſe who have *great landed property* in this iſland, and thoſe who have *none*, except a precarious one, limited in duration, and circumſcribed in profit. Under ſuch a waſte from foreign and domeſtic cauſes, this nation cannot thrive, but muſt be undone inevitably, unleſs ſome ſpeedy remedy is applied. One part of the ſubject is ſo

fully handled by an eminent lawyer, in his new * LIST OF ABSENTEES, and in his obſervations on the ſtate of our commerce and manufactures in 1769, that nothing can be added to enforce his argument. To the *ſecond*, I ſhall endeavour to ſpeak with inferior abilities, yet with the *partiality* due to the good of my country, with the *impartiality* alſo due to truth, and with the *deference* due to the experience of all free nations. On ſuch ground I run no hazard in meeting the good ſenſe of men, too well guarded to be intangled in the ſnares of controverſy, too knowing not to reject ideas repugnant to the intereſt of their country, and too wiſe not to adopt every *practicable* ſcheme for its advantage.

It is a truth, I believe, univerſally agreed upon, that the Papiſts of this kingdom have for ſeventy years paſt, been an inſuperable obſtacle to its proſperity. Cut off from the principal benefits of its free conſtitution, they *neceſſarily* become a diſeaſe within its bowels; acting *againſt it*, from an incapacity to act *for it*. We need not heſitate, therefore, in pronouncing them *the worſt* kind of ſubjects, that can exiſt in a country which ſubſiſts *chiefly* by *commerce* and *uſeful arts*. The poſſibility of rendering them *uſeful* ſubjects, which with ſome may ſtill be a great queſtion, was *none* to the late King WILLIAM, who proved his theory by his practice, and recommended *both*

* Dub. printed by G. Faulkner, 1769.

by his ſucceſs. He was a prince of great knowledge, as well as experience, and his authority ſhould have great weight in deciding on ſo important a point as this before us, wherein the *cooperation* or *inactivity* of a million of people is concerned. He hated popery, no doubt, as far as a prince of his enlarged principles could hate any religion; but he drove not his popiſh ſubjects into a ſtate of *political apathy*, much leſs into a ſtate of *deſpondency* and *inconnexion*. *He proportioned civil puniſhment, to the extent and reality of the civil crime*, and having diveſted the religious diſſenters, moſt hateful to his people, of any power *to injure* the new eſtabliſhment, *he ſtopped there*, and diveſted them of none *to ſtrengthen it*. It was a ſtrain of wiſdom he learned in his native country; a policy which operated invariably in *Holland*, ſince a period was put to the ſilly religious diſputes which coſt the virtuous *Barnevelt* his life, and drove *Grotius*, the glory of that country, into exile.

King *William* it is well known, was obliged to purſue ſome meaſures diſagreeable to him; His indulgence to the Iriſh Papiſts *was not of the number*; the affection which they bore to the only monarch of the *Stuart race*, who could be ſaid to favour them, produced very naturally their *averſion* to him. They oppoſed him in arms, and they yielded *reluctantly* to his government. In the meaſure which followed, we find the vaſt difference between the ſeverity of *ſpiritual animo-*

ſity, and the mild chaſtiſement of *political juſtice*. That monarch was not content with conquering thoſe rebellious ſubjects in the field; he ſoon after conquered *their paſſions*. Inſtead of *meeting* the oppreſſion they *feared*, they *found* the protection they *wanted*. He only ſtripped them of what they were no way intitled to, civil and military preferments. He did not ſtrip them of *property*, *but confirmed it to them in the fulleſt extent*, with the power of acquiring more, *uncircumſcribed by penalties*, *unimpeached by mercenary informers*. Whatever honeſt induſtry could *procure*, they were legally qualified to *realize*. Their condition was happy, *becauſe it was bounded by ſecurity*; the condition of their Proteſtant brethren was ſtill *more* happy, *becauſe legiſlation*, *with every power civil*, *military and eccleſiaſtical*, *was put into their hands*. On ſuch foundations, as on a rock of adamant, did King *William* eſtabliſh the conſtitution; fortifying the power of the ſtate; ſecuring the natural rights of individuals! The Papiſts, like their brethren in *Holland*, co-operated *with* the public, and *for* the public, in their ſubordinate condition. They were inſtrumental in national proſperity, inſtead of being a heavy burthen *on it*; and they diſcharged a religious, as well as civil duty to government, *fortified on all ſides by the ties of intereſt*.

Such, I ſay, was the political conſtitution eſtabliſhed in this country by K. *William*. Why it was departed from immediately after that mo-

narch's demiſe, and without the ſmalleſt provocation on the ſide of the Papiſts of thoſe days, may ſeem unaccountable; that it was done on principles of ſound policy, may with good reaſon be doubted, as the Proteſtant intereſt in this iſland was gaining ſtrength every day, and *could acquire none*, moſt certainly, from a perpetuity of pains and penalties on any religious Diſſenters, whoſe intereſts were *on the ſide of the civil conſtitution*, and whoſe conduct muſt, in the general courſe of things, be under *the direction of thoſe intereſts*. Popery proſcribed by law, hated by the public, depreſſed by its own weakneſs, could injure public proſperity in *no* degree, commenſurate with diſability on its votaries, to enjoy durable property in land, or a ſecure property *even in money*. It ſhould ſeem therefore, that Q. *Anne's* penal laws, had their ſource, not ſo much in the fear of a remote and poſſible danger, as in the reſentment of former injuries, when Proteſtants and Papiſts (the two great parties on our ſtage) contended about the mighty ſtake of power and property. However natural our fears may be, or however juſt our reſentments; yet *neither* ſhould hurry us out of the line of our true intereſts. Reſentment in public, as well as private life, is often neceſſary and juſtifiable. Degenerated into revenge, it becomes hurtful, by overacting its part, and may wound the hand that ſtrikes, more than the patient who yields to the blow. That too much was allowed to this principle in our

own, as well as in other countries, cannot be denied. It rankled, very naturally, in the breaſts of numbers ſoon after the late Revolution was completed; and it operated with ſo much animoſity from the pulpit and preſs, that K. *William* was obliged to interpoſe his authority, to ſilence the clamours raiſed againſt the *articles of Limeric*, before he had time to get thoſe articles ratified in parliament. And it muſt be acknowledged to their honour, that ſome patriots, the moſt diſtinguiſhed by their fortune and political abilities, exerted a laudable emulation of the King's good ſenſe and equity, on that occaſion. But fatally for this nation, that great monarch's reign was ſhort. The fires he covered, and endeavoured to extinguiſh, were ſoon kindled. The principle I have mentioned, collected fuel in abundance, and the hereditary zeal of his immediate ſucceſſor (the laſt of the STUARTS) fanned theſe fires into a flame, which without being waſted itſelf, has waſted every thing that come in its way, ever ſince.

We ought, undoubtedly, to perſiſt in every wiſe meaſure of our anceſtors; but we have no call, nor the leaſt proſpect of a call upon us, to eſpouſe their paſſions, or adopt their maxims, relatively to the diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments. Their paſſions had objects that do not now exiſt; their maxims aroſe from the combination of both; and *all*, were the conſequence of recent injuries received from the partizans of the

late King *James*, and of the efforts of *France* to re-eſtabliſh that ill-adviſed prince. In a word, their fears were, in a great degree, juſtifiable from the dangers which threatened them from *abroad*, and from a diffidence of thoſe *at home*, who were recently ſubdued to the eſtabliſhed government. During his ſhort reign, King *William* kept thoſe paſſions within proper bounds, as he was every day ſetting bounds to the object which excited them. But that Monarch died; and the combuſtible matter remained, getting great acceſſion of ſtrength from the claims of a Pretender to the throne, acknowledged by *France*, and ſupported by her power. Theſe were the incitements to the penal laws againſt Papiſts on the commencement of Q. *Anne*'s reign. Theſe objects of penal laws are all removed: in effect, we have no Pretender to the throne at preſent. *France* is weakened, and agitated with internal diſtempers: and, in truth, had thoſe dangers, which threatened our anceſtors, exiſted to this day, they ſhould be far from being a motive to lay the profitable induſtry, of *any* part of our people, under diſcouragements.

The ſecurity of any country, divided by religious ſyſtems, may be rendered *effectual*, by a legal toleration of all ſects, and by a TEST of fidelity to the civil government *from each*. To the preſent Biſhop of *Gloceſter*'s admirable reaſonings on this head, nothing can be added, nor can any thing be objected, ſave only, the gratuitous poſi-

tion, that *Papiſts cannot be bound by any oath of allegiance to a Proteſtant government.* King *William* thought otherwiſe, and the experience of our neighbours the *Dutch*, for near a hundred and fifty years paſt, may enable us to drop ſo groundleſs an opinion, for it is no more. Even our own hiſtory affords abundant proofs of the reſiſtance of Papiſts to papal diſpenſations, notwithſtanding the operation and ſeverity of Queen *Elizabeth*'s penal laws, to tempt them out of their allegiance. On this principle many of the old *Iriſh* clans, and many of the popiſh nobility of *Engliſh* race, fought on the Queen's ſide in the *Tyrone Rebellion*; and in *England*, when the nation was threatened with deſtruction, from *Philip* the ſecond's invincible Armada; "ſome gentlemen of that ſect, (according to the profound hiſtorian * Mr. *Hume*) "conſcious that they could not expect any truſt "or authority, entered themſelves volunteers in "the fleet and army; ſome equipped ſhips at "their own charge, and gave the command of "them to Proteſtants: others were active in "animating their tenants and vaſſals and neigh-"bours to the defence of their country. Such "was the loyalty of Engliſh Papiſts to a Proteſ-"tant Queen, and ſuch their reſiſtance to a Pope, "who (according to the ſame excellent writer) "fulminated a Bull of excommunication againſt "her, had depoſed her from the throne, and had

* Hiſtory of England under the Houſe of Tudor. Vol. 3. Dub. Edit. p. 200, 201.

" abſolved her ſubjects from their oaths of alle-
" giance."

In truth, there is not a Proteſtant ſtate on the Continent of *Europe*, that will not furniſh us with proofs of our miſtakes on the queſtion before us. In the King of *Pruſſia's* dominions, Papiſts take oaths of allegiance to that monarch; no more is required to enſure their fidelity; and they are believed ſincere, becauſe their ſteady loyalty for more than a hundred years paſt, is a proof of their ſincerity. When the armies of *France* took poſſeſſion by force, of his late Majeſty's Electoral dominions, his Popiſh ſubjects were as faithful to him as any other, and furniſhed a recent proof, that perjury to a Proteſtant prince, was no principle of their religion. Late as it is, let us, before it is too late, ſhake off the fetters forged for us, not by religion, but by the memory of former animoſities about power, in which religion bore only a *ſubſervient* and *ſecondary* part. Let us not deceive ourſelves, by arguments drawn from the rebellions of Papiſts formerly in this kingdom. For three hundred years before the Reformation, ſuch rebellions were more frequent againſt *a Popiſh* government, than ſince that period againſt *a Proteſtant* government. They were evils ariſing perpetually from cauſes which do not exiſt at preſent, and indeed can never exiſt again; from circumſtances, wherein the ſpirit of a fierce people was *irritated* againſt lawful authority, inſtead of being *won to it*, by any compoſition with their *manners*, or any prudent conceſſions to their *prejudices*.

Political deviations muſt be common, where the lines of protection and obedience are but ill marked. The caſe is now altered: we know with preciſion, what road we are to take, and how far we are to go. The meaſures of obedience are well aſcertained, and every ſubject, Papiſt and Proteſtant, enjoys the protection due to him by law: but whether every Papiſt enjoys the immunities due to the public intereſt, and due to his merit alſo, is another queſtion; tho' it ſhould be none, had we an aſſurance, that the old diſeaſe is cured, *or that the ſharp remedy is operating without an object.* To ſpeak without figure, the *reaſon* of every human law ſhould be tried by its *utility*; and whenever that ceaſes, *the benefit* (according to * Judge *Lyttleton*, and to truth) *ceaſes alſo.*

The benefits attending a TOLERATION, and TEST of civil fidelity, will not be controverted, tho' the utility of overcharging ſuch a Teſt may; for doubtleſs, the propoſitions in any Teſt, *ought not to go beyond their object.* For ſeventy years paſt we have propoſed legal teſts to Papiſts, which the majority among them have refuſed obſtinately, notwithſtanding the great benefits annexed to their acceptance of ſuch teſts; and tho' their refuſal may be no proof of *the ſoundneſs of their underſtanding*, yet it is one, certainly, of *their ſincerity.* It is a proof alſo, that if they did not believe the

* Ceſſante ratione legis, ceſſat beneficium legis. Synopſis of Lord Coke's Commentaries upon Lyttleton, p. 95.

obligation of an oath *to be ſacred*, they would not ſcruple giving us *duplicity* and *hypocriſy* in exchange, for all the advantages of our free conſtitution. The metaphyſics of any *eſtabliſhed* religion, ſhould never be impoſed upon diſſenters *from it*; becauſe *civil* government being concerned only about their *civil* fidelity, a teſt drawn from the principles of the religion they profeſs, is *the moſt proper for them*, indeed no other can be proper. Should Iriſh Papiſts, for inſtance, ſwear "all "civil obedience to be due only to his pre- "ſent Majeſty; renounce the Pope's ſupremacy "in Temporals, declare their conviction of the "incompotence of that Biſhop, to decide about "the civil affairs of any foreign ſtate; that he "hath no power to diſſolve the allegiance due to "princes, or to diſpenſe with any obligatory "oath to government," &c. Should their religion, I ſay, intitle them to give us ſuch a teſt, no doubt, certainly, can be entertained of their *civil orthodoxy*. On the *other* hand, ſhould any Papiſt refuſe giving that teſt, *a diſcovery would immediately be made of his profeſſing a religion incompatible with the ſecurity of our civil government:* and his recuſancy would juſtify every legal ſeverity againſt him. Men of ſuch unconſtitutional principles would, like buoys on the flood, point out our danger, inſtead of leaving us under *any ſuſpenſe*, as at preſent, *about its reality*. Again, ſhould the *greater* number of ſuch ſubjects, like their brethren in *Hanover* and *Holland*, comply with ſo

neceſſary a *teſt*, we ſhould *in that caſe*, be in poſſeſſion of a mighty advantage, *by having a line of ſeparation drawn between our friends and enemies.* We ſhould know with preciſion, the meaſure to be purſued in the juſt diſpenſation of rewards and puniſhments, inſtead of *confounding theſe men indiſcriminately*, as an incorrigible multitude, with whom no compoſition can be made, for the p oſperity of this country.

Should, indeed, any ſuch ſound members be found (and they are worth ſeeking for) it would ſeem, that they merit ſome manumiſſion, after this *long quarantine* of political health, ſince the demiſe of King *William*; and ſhould any gentleman object, that their good conduct, ſince the promulgation of Queen *Anne's* penal laws, was rather the tribute of fear to power, than the diſcharge of a duty, which the Goſpel requires to every government, ſuch a gentleman has my conſent, as, I truſt, I ſhall have *his*, to differ a little from him, and on ſurer ground. Indeed either principle might have its ſhare, in producing ſo good an effect, and it may be hoped, that the better principle, had the greateſt. *Inability to evil* is doubtleſs one of the ſtrongeſt ſanctions of government; but *inability to good*, forms a great weakneſs on its ſide. "Penal laws (ſays the Baron *Monteſquieu,*) have ever an activity *to deſtroy*," and they do it effectually, when the hand of induſtry is bound up by legal interdicts. They ſhould not affect *guiltleſs men:* much leſs the

whole community, thro' their operation on individuals. Adminiſtered in too ſtrong a doſe, they fruſtrate their own ends, and may create a *new* diſeaſe, without curing the *old*.

The old diſeaſe of this nation has been ſo accurately delineated by a diſtinguiſhed * Writer, ſuppoſed to be a member of our own Houſe of Commons, that I cannot reſiſt the pleaſure of giving in his own words, the ſubſtance of what I have taken in detail. "Ireland is an iſland which may "certainly boaſt of natural advantages, but they "have hitherto been unimproved, or unemployed; "with fine harbours, but little commerce, and a "fruitful ſoil but little aſſiſted as yet by cultivation. "It contains about eleven millions of Iriſh plan- "tation acres, not above two thirds of which "are inhabited, and not one half under any rea- "ſonable degree of cultivation, which is evident "from its never yet having been able to produce "Corn, nearly equal to the conſumption of a "country, which has the feweſt inhabitants, "and thoſe a people too, who conſume leſs than "any people perhaps in the world; † taxed in a "greater degree than *Britain*, with a great ma- "jority of its inhabitants too miſerable from their "poverty, to contribute to the ſupplies, and

* See conſiderations on the dependencies of Great Britain. London printed for J. Almon; and Dub. by J. Williams, 1769.

† See this fully proved in the excellent pamphlet from whence I take this quotation.

" above two thirds debarred by *religious* policy,
" from almoſt every opportunity of contributing
" to the wealth or ſtrength of the country ; who
" becauſe they are not ſuppoſed to be attached to
" the government *by principle*, are not to be bound
" to it *by intereſt* ; and by the evil conſtruction
" of well deſigned laws, are not ſuffered to de-
" poſit with the State even *hoſtages for their loyalty*.
" Who are not allowed either incitements to in-
" duſtry, or pledges of fidelity ; by being pre-
" cluded from enjoying ſecurity for their money,
" or any valuable poſſeſſion in their Land. Who
" are kept by the Laws in a ſtate of preparation
" for revolt, without hazard, attachment, or ob-
" ligation to reſtrain them ; in ſhort without any
" intereſt in the public preſervation." Such is the delineation of this internal diſeaſe of Popery, ſketched out by a maſterly hand. We are deeply intereſted in its cure, and ſhould it admit of none in this Proteſtant country, and *in this alone*, we may ſafely denominate it a ſelf-generated monſter : the like of which, never appeared before, in the political ſky !

Nil oriturum aliàs, nil ortum tale fatemur !

To be a little more ſerious ; the inſecurity mentioned by this able writer, relating to land and money, in a trading country is eaſier to be accounted for, than juſtified by any principle of ſound policy. A monied property, as life itſelf (riſing and ſetting in weakneſs) is of a tranſient

nature, and if not carefully tended, it will fly from us, when the loſs may be moſt fatal, and leaſt expected. Both muſt find ſecurity in the place of their birth, or be forced to find it in ſome more ſalutary climate. For the credit of my country, I would willingly draw a veil over a fact, which in this particular diſtinguiſhes it from any other civilized nation. With us, there is no ſecurity for money lent by Papiſts, ſave only, what may be obtained thro' the hazard of perſonal engagements; eaſily eluded by family ſettlements, or annihilated by the mortality of the borrowers. From ſuch a precarious ſecurity, inſtances can be produced, of the ruin of many Popiſh families in this kingdom. So deep a wound to the livelihood of individuals, as well as to public credit, induced ſome worthy members of both houſes of Parliament, to provide a remedy; and from the time of the late Lord *Halifax*'s adminiſtration here, to the end of the laſt Seſſion, Heads of a Bill were from time to time, brought into parliament for that purpoſe: But ſo ODIOUS, it ſeems, were the ill-fated people intended to be relieved by that Bill; or ſo *crooked* did the object itſelf appear, (like a ſtraight ſtick between two mediums;) or ſo ſlight was the evil, from the *apprehenſions of a greater*; that no effort of patriotiſm, could hitherto obtain the paſſing ſuch a Bill into a law.

Deeply as the perſons concerned in the fate of that Bill, were afflicted with their hard fortune,

thro' ſo many trials; yet to join my own ſenſe, to that of ſeveral reſpectable perſons, I do not think that its failure was any great diſappointment to the public. It was well intended, no doubt, but it ſeems to have been clogged with ſo many preventive and defenſive clauſes, (as if the return of popery ſhould be the conſequence of giving expedition to the recovery of a Papiſt's money) that the ſecurity intended, ſeemed to be fruſtrated in a good degree, by the ſeveral rounds it muſt take, before it could have its full effect.

Such complicated remedies may have their uſe in preſerving the remains of life; but they can have very little effect, in reſtoring the vigour, or improving the complexion of a waſted Conſtitution. It is not phyſic we now want, but ſimple diet and wholeſome food; ſome cordial to revive us, not emetics to bring on new convulſions, while the old paroxiſms come on but too frequently of themſelves. We have one ſet of men to *reclaim*, and another to *reform:* Abſentees who drain the nation of its circulating ſpecies, and Papiſts who drain it of its people, and waſte its lands. To reclaim the greater part of *the former* will (we hope) be eaſy to the legiſlature, or at worſt, they muſt come back and reſide among us, when their Tenants are ruined, and when little money can be found for exportation. To reform *the latter*, will not be difficult, when we ſet about it in earneſt; unincumbered with ideas, which have no foundation, and apprehenſions of danger,

which ſlew before King *William* fourſcore years ago, and had no exiſtence *ſince his time*. The Papiſts of this country have as little *the will* to *injure* us, and if we pleaſe, may have as much *the power* to *ſerve* us, as their brethren in the electorates of *Hanover* and *Brandenburg* have, under their reſpective Sovereigns.

This *German policy* of uniting *all parties in one creed of political faith*, gives ſufficient ſecurity to *civil* government. If it doth not, I confeſs, in any *great* degree prevent the *growth of Popery*, yet it prevents the *growth of inconnexion*, of *lazineſs*, of *inactivity*, of *deſpair*, and of *general poverty*. It prevents the waſte of lands, and the flight of unemployed labourers and manufacturers; and it prevents *the growth of popery* itſelf, by giving an excluſion to all its votaries from preferments eccleſiaſtical or civil. It was the happy policy introduced into this kingdom by *King William*, as I repeated above, and the good conduct it naturally produced among the Papiſts *of his time*, would not be leſs operative *now*, at the end of eighty years, among their great-grand-children.

By the penal laws eſtabliſhed here under Q. *Anne*, the Papiſts were put under a legal interdict, from enjoying any lands whatever (for it *extends*, amazingly, to plots and houſes in corporate towns) ſave only, under a ſhort tenure: even *that*, is made liable to a forfeiture in favour of the firſt Proteſtant informer, ſhould it exceed a certain profit, preſcribed by the ſtatute. The operation of this interdict in making ſpies ex-

tremely vigilant, brought many ſuits into our courts of law, and reduced many families to diſtreſs and ſorrow. Yet this is but a ſlight inconvenience, compared to other conſequences. It has put a ſtop to agriculture, and converted our Popiſh landholders, into a huge tribe of Graziers, like our *Scythian* anceſtors. Paſturage is *one* defence *with them* againſt informers, and is their ſole occupation; for induſtry we cannot call it. Careful however, of the true intereſts of men reduced to the neceſſity of leading ſuch a life; they avoid improving, building, or incloſing, as well to draw as much as poſſible from an expiring tenure, as to prevent a temptation in Proteſtants, to take leaſes in reverſion of the waſtes they throw about themſelves. Is this œconomy an advantage to *Ireland?* No; but it is a conſpiracy, and a licenſed conſpiracy, againſt its proſperity. Again, as theſe Graziers have no intereſt in the culture of land, they expel the poor labourers into mountains, into towns, and into the neighbouring kingdom; ſome to gain a livelihood by thieving at home, others by earning abroad, the rents of their plots and Potatoe-gardens, while the wives and children of the greater part, infeſt every quarter of the Iſland, in the ſhape of naked beggars. This is no exaggerated account, and I appeal to the knowledge of every country gentleman in the kingdom, for the general truth of what I aſſert; I appeal alſo to mankind, whether this ſeries of evils, equally diſgraceful and injuri-

ous to the nation, ſhould be tolerated, on the ſcore of men, who turn their farms into waſtes, and derive all their advantages from encreaſing their flocks, and thinning the human race? Thro' this paſtoral employment, population meets great impediments, and one year of famine demoliſhes almoſt all that nature could produce in many; view here then, the unforeſeen, but tragical means for preventing the growth of Popery: It is ſurely full time to put an end to ſuch a calamity!

The tiller of the land, and the manufacturer, *are the two hinges*, on which the proſperity of this kingdom muſt turn: the one is the ſupport of the other, and the credulity of a *future* age, will hardly extend to the belief, that any policy of the *preſent*, ſhould make a ſeparation between them. To reſtore agriculture, we ſhould return to King *William*'s principles and practice, by *encouragements to labour*, and *ſecurity to the labourer*: to minds enlarged by knowledge, and inſtructed by experience, this change of ſyſtem will not be difficult, and no danger can follow, while Papiſts are kept diſarmed *by law*, while (if we ſhould credit themſelves) they are diſarmed *by conſcience*; while alſo, they are retained by *ſtable* intereſt, and (to complete our ſecurity) while we have legiſlation, and all the military, as well as civil power, of the kingdom in our hands.

For ſeveral years paſt, we live moſtly on the bread imported hither from foreign regions. We even import Corn from *North-America*; and we

ſuffer many of our people to tranſport themſelves thither, and for ever, to cultivate it for us. Here then is another expedient, tho' not ſo effectual, as the returns of famine, *to prevent the growth of Popery*. For four years paſt, this importation of Corn, has coſt us annually, on an average, better than 300,000 *l.* which added to more than a million a year to Abſentees, and to other expenditures on articles of luxury or uſe, that we might either well want, or raiſe at home, has ſo far exceeded all our profits on commerce, that we muſt be abſolutely undone, without the ſpeedy interpoſition of the legiſlature.

Let the bread of foreign lands feed our manufacturers; you put the uſeful arts, and the moſt uſeful of all, the Linen-Manufacture, into the hands of a ſtep-dame. In the arms of ſo unnatural a nurſe, the child muſt be certainly ſtinted: and until you reſtore it to the true mother, it will not thrive: in three Provinces out of four, the richeſt in their ſoil, and the moſt convenient for foreign Markets, the Linen-Manufacture is ſtill in its infancy: its progreſs is ſlow, and it will never arrive to any maturity, if you do not provide for its nurture *at home*. Whatever evil there may be in the growth of Popery, there can be none in the growth of uſeful artizans, or uſeful huſbandmen; though the laws ſhould puniſh them on a religious account, they may however be loyal, and have the greateſt inducement to be ſo, from the lenity of the executive government,

ſince the ſucceſſion of the preſent Royal Family took place. In fact, they are not moleſted in the exerciſe of their ſpiritual duties; and this, doubtleſs, is good policy, as well as great clemency towards men, guilty of no civil crime to juſtify puniſhment. Let us ſpeak (it is time to ſpeak) on this ſubject as philoſophers and politicians, not as Catechiſts, who believe as they are taught, and who prefer a pleaſing impreſſion, to a diſagreeable conviction. Magna Charta itſelf, annual elections of our Repreſentatives, and the great ſanctions of the Britiſh conſtitution, were ſought for, and obtained by our Popiſh anceſtors. If they did not fight in the cauſe of liberty, and throw ramparts about it, we might be ſlaves, not freemen; and an unweildy code of pains and penalties againſt ſuch of their poſterity in both kingdoms, as retained the religion *they* profeſſed, ſeems to be a ſoleciſm in politics; unleſs the latter give proofs in our own days, that they are averſe to a ſtill better civil conſtitution, than their anceſtors contended for. The oppoſition given by Papiſts to the Revolution in its firſt progreſs, was natural; on its becoming a *legal* eſtabliſhment, the wiſer part ſubmitted: the rebellion of ſuch as continued in oppoſition, was injuſtifiable; and they ſuffered by executions, and forfeitures. The preſent generation are not accountable for the treaſon of ſuch men; but follow the example of the wiſer men I have mentioned; they therefore merit ſome reward, eſpecially in a nor-

thern country, where every great national advantage muſt be obtained from the hand of labour, and hardly any, without the activity of that inſtrument. Let it not therefore be tied up, becauſe Papiſts rebelled here in times of a very different complection from the preſent. For evident it is, that under our preſent legal interdicts, agriculture cannot take place, and manufactures which ſhould be grafted on *that ſtock*, will produce but little, moſt certainly, when grafted on *any other*. A good *Agrarian law* will execute itſelf; it is not in the nature of things, *that any other, diſcouraging to the tiller*, can be effectual. Let this capital truth be for once admitted: let it be granted alſo, that agriculture, or in other words, the buſineſs of planting, building, and encloſing, as well as of tilling, ſhould be that of men, *ſecure from all danger in conducting it*; not of men expoſed to great danger, *in attempting it*. Popery is, at preſent, an incapacity, and juſtly ſo, to employments civil and military; but it ſhould be none, as I have mentioned above, to any other employment, productive of general proſperity, and, conſequently, *of the Proteſtant intereſt*; much leſs ſhould this Popery be ſuffered to remain an inanimate ſide in the body politic; *clogging* the action, *damping* the ſpirit, and *affecting the very being*, of the ſound ſide, to which it is annexed.

By ſubſtituting imaginary to real danger, we often create, what ſhould not otherwiſe exiſt. The danger of Popery, or rather of Papiſts, was

great formerly, when the Nation was divided into two parties, contending for power, and rendering their Religion ſubſervient to their paſſions. It was great, from the claims of the old *Iriſh* to the eſtates they recently forfeited by Rebellion: it was great alſo, from the ſupport of powerful princes on the Continent, to the claimants. All thoſe dangers from Popery, have been long ſince extinguiſhed; and new dangers of another nature have ſucceeded; to ſuch dangers, ariſing from depopulation, and diſcouragements to induſtry, let us turn our attention. We can do ſo with ſucceſs: we have leiſure for it: we have power and legiſlation on our ſide: we have property ſecured by old poſſeſſion, and old preſcription: we are ſafe, where our great-grand-fathers had every thing to fear; and therefore ſhould ſuit our conduct, as they did theirs, to the nature of the danger which is moſt preſſing; to the activity of a *preſent* evil, not to the unlikely contingency of a *remote* one.

The danger of Popery to the Proteſtant intereſt, was great formerly, from the cauſes I have aſſigned. It is only great, at preſent, from the paſtoral occupation of its votaries, from their inconnexion with us as fellow-citizens, from the inſecurity of their poſſeſſions, *monied* or *landed*, from the miſerable condition of the labouring people, and from the neceſſity of emigration among great numbers, to procure abroad, what is refuſed them at home. Such I ſay is our dan-

ger from Popery, and it is great. Legiſlative wiſdom cannot put a ſlight upon it: and the remedy appears eaſy, on King *William*'s Plan, without perpetuating an unequal combat, between *the penalties of law*, and *the penalties of conſcience*.

Our penal laws, ſhould on the ſame plan, be ſuited, as I ſaid before, *to the reality and extent of the civil crime*, and this wiſe meaſure will be the more practicable, as the *civil crime* ariſing from *religious error*, can be eaſily detected. It is only putting the diſſenting Religioniſt, *to the teſt of his civil orthodoxy*, and this for more than a hundred and fifty years paſt, has been the proſperous policy, eſtabliſhed in *Holland*, in the electorate of *Hanover*, in that of *Brandenburg*, and throughout higher and lower *Saxony*.

Theſe arguments, however unpopular, cannot be forborn, as they are highly favourable to the re-eſtabliſhment of the true intereſts of this country, in its preſent exhauſted ſtate; nor is this the time for cowardice in politics, or for concealing the conviction, or renouncing the advantages, of any important truth, for no better reaſon, but becauſe it is odious to *unreflecting* men. To advance the Proteſtant intereſt, we ſhould avail ourſelves of every ſtrength it may gain, *from whatever hand it comes*; and to comprehend it, in its fulleſt extent, *we ſhould ſtrip it of all unrelative ideas*. The Proteſtant intereſt in a *political* ſenſe (the only ſenſe in which our preſent ſubject is concerned) conſiſts in the *union* of the Proteſtant

powers of *Europe*, ſo as to form a ſtrength ſufficient to preponderate the Popiſh. In a *domeſtic* ſenſe, it conſiſts in giving the law to our Popiſh fellow-ſubjects, *in the manner*, and *on the terms*, moſt conducive to public utility. In a *party* ſenſe, it muſt be conſidered in the nature of a conqueſt, which when completed, includes the ſecurity of the conquered, not their deſtruction; the privation of every power *to do evil*, but of none *to do good*, to the community. The Proteſtant intereſt conſiſts alſo, in confirming to religious diſſenters, thoſe civil privileges which annex them *to* the civil government; not in loading them with reſtraints which ſeparate them *from it*. The Proteſtant intereſt ſtated on *ſuch* principles, muſt proſper; *nor will it bear being eſtabliſhed on any other*, but to its detriment; in countries eſpecially which depend upon commerce, and uſeful arts: it cannot, doubtleſs, be promoted by depreſſing a multitude of men, who ſhould labour, and want nothing but encouragement to begin, and ſecurity to proceed.

I am well aware, that the ſcheme I have been recommending all this time, *on King William's plan* of policy, will be objected to; as ſuch a ſcheme would prolong the evils Queen *Anne's penal laws* were calculated to remedy—a continuance of Popery in this iſland, and a ſuſpenſion of the happineſs of becoming all *one Proteſtant people*. The reply to this objection is not difficult; for it is obvious, that the extirpation of Po-

pery is not to be effected by thoſe penal laws. The experience of ſeventy years ſince their promulgation proves it; and as thoſe laws failed of the *good* intended, the *evil* attending their conſtant operation ſhould, as far as poſſible, be removed. On the other hand; if this political ſcheme of King *William* is inadmiſſible, 'till an identity of worſhip takes place in this kingdom; there can be but one *effectual* remedy in ſuch a caſe; the cutting off at once, thoſe cumberous branches which for ſeventy years paſt, have retarded the growth, and waſted the ſap of the only trunk, from whence we muſt draw our political nutriment. However practicable ſuch an amputation may be, it is not, certainly, in our preſent circumſtances, eligible; and if it be not, it were better to proceed on the model of our *Dutch Neighbours*, who have long ſince ſhaken off their captivity to temporary opinion, and adopted the permanent judgments of nature. They have ſacrificed their local paſſions, and the ſtrongeſt of all, their *averſions* and *reſentments*, to natural advantages: and inſtead of cutting off thoſe branches, *ſo hurtful to us*, they have by care and culture, brought them to bear *ſalutary fruit*. In truth, to proſelyte Papiſts to our eſtabliſhed church, by playing the pains and penalties of *this* life, againſt thoſe of the *next*, is not the way to win the heart, or convince the underſtanding. It is, I own, a way ſucceſsful enough, with the rich and luxurious, who have old Patri-

monies to preſerve, and very little religion to loſe. The pride of family, in ſuch caſes, is ſtrong, and and the worldly reward is great and immediate. Relatively to the induſtrious and inferior people, the more numerous and uſeful part of the community, ſuch a ſcheme can never take place; becauſe the human heart, *unprepared by religious indifference*, revolts againſt ſecular violence, active or negative: and, certainly, when we puniſh men of this middle ſtation, for adhering to a mode of worſhip, which includes perſecution *in the number of its beatitudes*, and outbids by future rewards the periſhable gifts held forth by the preſent life, we put them exactly in the caſe of the poor traveller: the more the fury of the ſtorm laid claim to his cloak, the faſter was the hold he kept of it. Look over (in our regiſtry office) the liſt of converts made from Popery, in the courſe of theſe laſt ſeventy years, and ſee what a mighty acquiſition we have made! Were the number tenfold, yet what proportion would it bear to the number of Papiſts now living in ſeveral ſingle towns, not to mention the whole iſland? and if the incentives to preſerve antient patrimonies, have *compelled ſo few to come in*, thro' ſo long a period as ſeventy years; what proſpect have we, that ſeventy times ſeventy, without more effectual means of conviction than puniſhment, will complete their converſion? Indeed, the hunger, the nakedneſs, the wretchedneſs of the poor, the decay of agriculture, and the quick returns of famine, may well ſupply the inſufficiency of penal laws;

they are at preſent the *preventive of preventives*, againſt the growth of Popery: But as our humane legiſlators, muſt abhor its exciſion by ſuch means, we can entertain no doubt, of their providing a ſpeedy remedy againſt a calamity, which ultimately muſt involve the ruin of the whole nation, as well as that of individuals.

The diſtreſſes of this country, particularly for ſeveral years paſt, ſeem to have filled their meaſure. Like an electrical ſhock, they have pervaded the body of the people, from the inferior part, who felt the firſt ſtroke, to thoſe who were the moſt diſtant from it. The great demand for our exports, and the conſequential flow of money, during the laſt moſt ſucceſsful war, blinded us; and the blindneſs continued. We could not ſee the ebb of this money-tide, on the concluſion of the peace, nor forſee the wretched artificial expedient of ſupporting our credit, by the circulation of paper-bills. Lands roſe in their value to an unnatural height; they are now fallen, to the great detriment of the Proteſtant landlord, who encreaſed his expences, in proportion to the nominal improvement of his rental; and to the great detriment of the proteſtant farmer, outbid by the Papiſt; who cannot ſupport without ſome tenure in land, and who generally purſues his paſtoral life, rather for bare *ſubſiſtance* than for *profit*. Such evils, ſurely, ought not to be left to themſelves, for their cure. We know our diſtemper, both in kind and degree. We have ſeen its effects

thro' every ſtage; and the remedy is eaſy from the preſent diſpoſition of the legiſlature, from our preſent ſtate of repoſe, from the ſoundneſs of our conſtitution, from the good intentions of the executive government, under the beſt of kings, from our natural advantages, and in fine, from the power of uniting the hearts and hands of all our people, to avail ourſelves, of almoſt every earthly happineſs, that God and nature intended for us.

About twenty years ago, ſome gentlemen of diſtinguiſhed merit with the public, propoſed to permit Papiſts to purchaſe our moraſſes and mountainous tracts; as the converſion of thoſe nuiſances into profitable lands would adorn the face, as it would emprove the rental, of our iſland. Thro' ſuch a policy we could acquire *a great deal*, and loſe *nothing*; it was beſides, an admirable ſcheme for employing our idle hands, and it would be a great additional ſtrength to ourſelves, to be turned immediately againſt the improvers of ſuch waſtes, ſhould they hereafter prove guilty of treachery or infidelity to government: But as the attention of the legiſlature, was *at the time*, drawn another way, that ſcheme was ſuſpended; and we ſhould wonder, that it was never ſince adopted, had not experience taught us, that the beſt things are often little regarded, or abſolutely ſlighted, thro' the facility of obtaining them; while thoſe of doubtful operation, are but too often preferred. In one caſe, there is no field open for the diſplay

of refinement; in the other, the mind is put in motion by difficulty; is heated by oppoſition, and ſeduced by its ſucceſs in the choice between alternatives of uncertain benefit. From this conſtitution in the mental frame, much good has been omitted in this world, to ſay no worſe. At preſent, we have reaſon to hope, that no advantage to this country will be overlooked, *becauſe it lies at our feet: That* which I have juſt mentioned, and the INLAND NAVIGATION, are noble ſchemes for acquiring the activity and exerting the ſtrength, of which King *William* laid the foundation. No objection lies againſt them, and they are practicable. Indeed the ſpirit of improvement has happily gone forth among us of late, beyond all former efforts. The DUBLIN SOCIETY led the example, and rendered itſelf celebrated throughout *Europe*, by encouraging uſeful arts, and rewarding the artiſts, without any diſtinction of religion or party. Many of its members have ſeats in parliament, and will excite in others, the ſpirit infuſed into themſelves. Enlightened men, who love their country, know every danger to which it lies expoſed; every internal advantage it is capable of improving, and every injury which former miſapprehenſions have entailed upon us. In parliament, they will find men (many we hope) actuated by their own feelings, and endowed with the ſame elevation of mind. Their combined influence will be great, while their proceedings will, no doubt, be cautious. They will conſider whe-

ther the preſent be the proper time for re-eſtabliſhing the plan laid by K. *William* for the proſperity of this kingdom; or whether the minds of the majority are prepared for it, by a nearer view of the conſequences, which Q. *Anne*'s penal laws have produced. The greater, and often honeſteſt, part of mankind, are averſe from reſigning their firſt impreſſions of things: Be it truth or error, they are generally equally tenacious of the one and the other; confirming by habit, but ſeldom trying by examination, what they take up fortuitouſly. Providence for wiſe purpoſes, has given the human mind, this turn; as truth, its object, could never be obtained in a maze of ſcepticiſm. It is, however, reaſonable to doubt in many caſes: In political matters more eſpecially, ſubject to a thouſand accidents and fluctuations, a tenacity of opinion is, by no means, to be perpetuated, but varied as conjunctures and circumſtances vary: A wiſe man attending to ſuch variations, will hardly go aſtray; and to gentlemen who may ſtill heſitate on the queſtion of the ſafety, rather than utility of King *William*'s plan, or who may think that of Queen *Anne* leſs dangerous, I ſhall beg leave to ſubmit to their conſideration, the following queries from that great divine and philoſopher, Dr. BERKLEY, the late biſhop of *Cloyne*. They are only a few out of the many, publiſhed by him about forty years ago, for opening the minds of this nation, to its true and invariable intereſts. The principles which run

through theſe queries were my guide thro' the whole of the preſent work. They ſtrengthen my argument all along, and ſhould I be unfortunate in my manner of conducting it, I make the reader ample amends, by the following extracts from the * author himſelf.

QUERIES of the Biſhop of CLOYNE.

1. Whether a ſcheme for the welfare of this kingdom ſhould not take in the whole inhabitants?

2. Whether it be not a vain attempt to project the flouriſhing of our Proteſtant gentry, excluſive of the bulk of the natives?

3. Whether the great and general aim of the public, ſhould not be, to employ the people?

4. Whether there be any country in Chriſtendom, more capable of emprovement than *Ireland?*

5. Whether in ſuch a ſoil as ours, if there was induſtry, there could be want?

6. Whether there be upon earth, any Chriſtian or civilized people ſo beggarly, wretched, and deſtitute, as the common *Iriſh?*

7. Whether, nevertheleſs, there is any other people, whoſe wants may be more eaſily ſupplied from home?

* See tracts relating to Ireland, by Dr. *Berkley* biſhop of *Cloyne*, republiſhed by Mr. Faulkner, and to be found in his ſhop.

8. Whether the public happineſs be not propoſed by the legiſlature, and whether ſuch happineſs doth not contain, that of individuals?

9. Whether we ſhould not caſt about by all manner of means, to excite induſtry, and to remove whatever hinders it? and whether every one ſhould not lend a helping hand?

10. Whether it be not a new ſpectacle under the ſun, to behold in ſuch a climate, and ſuch a ſoil, and under ſuch a gentle government, ſo many roads untrodden, fields untilled, houſes deſolate, and hands unemployed?

11. Whether there be any other nation poſſeſſed of ſo much good land, and ſo many able hands to work it, which yet is beholden for bread to foreign countries?

12. Whether national wants ought not to be the rule of trade? and whether the moſt preſſing wants of the majority, ought not to be firſt conſidered?

13. Whether it is poſſible the country ſhould be well improved, while our beef is exported, and our labourers live upon potatoes?

14. Whether the quantities of beef, butter, wool and leather exported from this iſland, can be reckoned the ſuperfluities of a country, where there are ſo many natives naked, and famiſhed?

15. Whether the way to make men induſtrious, be not, to let them taſte the fruits of their induſtry? and whether the labouring ox ſhould be muzzled?

16. Whether the public be more concerned in any thing, than the procreation of good citizens?

17. Whether as induſtry increaſed, our manufactures would not flouriſh? and as theſe flouriſhed, whether better returns would not be made from eſtates to their landlords, both within and without the kingdom?

18. Whether it is poſſible the ſtate ſhould not thrive, whereof the lower part were induſtrious, and the upper, wiſe?

19. Whether we are not as far *before* other nations, with reſpect, to natural advantages, as we are *behind* them, with reſpect to arts and induſtry?

20. Whether it would not be a poor and ill-judged project, to attempt to promote the good of the community, by invading the rights of one part thereof, or of one particular order of men?

21. Whether there be not two general methods, whereby men become ſharers in the national ſtock of wealth or power; induſtry and inheritance? and whether it would be wiſe in a civil ſociety, to leſſen that ſhare which is allotted to merit and induſtry?

22. Whether there be a more wretched, and at the ſame time a more unpitied caſe, than for men *to make precedents, for their own undoing?*

23. Whether any art or manufacture be ſo difficult as the making good laws?

24. Whether an oath teſtifying allegiance to the king, and diſclaiming the pope's authority in

temporals, may not be juſtly required of the Roman-Catholics? and whether in common prudence or policy, any Prieſt ſhould be tolerated, who refuſeth to take it?

25. Whether there is any ſuch thing as a body of inhabitants in any Roman Catholic country under the ſun, that profeſs an abſolute ſubmiſſion to the Pope's orders, in matters of an indifferent nature? or that in ſuch points, do not think it their duty, to obey the civil government?

26. Whether there is any country in Chriſtendom, either kingdom or republic, depending or independent, free or enſlaved, which may not afford us an uſeful leſſon?

26. Whether my countrymen are not readier at finding excuſes, than remedies?

28. Whether there be any people who have more leiſure to cultivate the arts of peace, and ſtudy the public weal?

29. Whether the wealth of a country will not bear proportion to the ſkill and induſtry of its inhabitants?

30. Whether it is not a great point to know what we wou'd be at? and whether whole ſtates, as well as private perſons, do not often fluctuate for want of this knowledge?

31. Whether that which *employs and exerts* the force of a community, *deſerves not to be well conſidered, and well underſtood?*

32. Whether it be not a ſad circumſtance, to live among lazy beggars? and whether, on the

other hand, it would not be delightful to live in a country, ſwarming like *China*, with buſy people?

33. Whether the main point be not to multiply and employ our people?

34. Whoſe fault is it, if *poor* Ireland, *ſtill continues poor?*

Ireland is *poor indeed*, though this long repoſe of eighty years intitled it to a better fate: the cauſes of this ſhameful poverty do not lie deep. They float upon the ſurface, and every party-intereſt (if any ſuch exiſts) nay, every *perſonal* intereſt from the great land proprietor, to the cottager, is concerned in their removal. If ſuch cauſes have been hitherto overlooked thro' inattention, or perhaps ſeen but partially, thro' reluctance to quit a profile view of things; now is the time for looking them full in the face, and of tracing back effects to their true fountains. Let the maxims which run through the above queries (from as great a man as this or the laſt age produced) ſtand before us as mirrors, to reflect realities; (our *common indiviſible intereſts:*) and let us lay aſide thoſe falſe glaſſes, which only repreſent the fears of *ſuperſtitious policy*, or the averſions of *ill-grounded prejudice*. I have endeavoured, for the good of my country, to explain a few only of thoſe cauſes, which have reduced it to its preſent exhauſted ſtate; and under the ſhelter of ſuch authorities, as thoſe of a *Berkley*, a *Swift*, a *Monteſquieu*, a *Hume*; I run no hazard of injuring truth, except by my manner of conveying it.

No detached obſervations from ſuch men can be ſo profitable, as the peruſal of the whole ſeries of argument, in their own works. Therein we learn, "that in all free countries, the laws ought to be "framed on the *ſpirit*, as the government ought "to be adminiſtered on the *principle* of the conſti-"tution." "That in caſes, where no legal diſ-"tinction is made, between *real* and *problematical* "guilt, *public weakneſs*, muſt bear an exact pro-"portion, to the innoxious *numbers weakened*." "That countries which ſtand in need of induſtry "require a mild and moderate government." and that, "Perpetuity of ſervitude, is contrary to the "nature of things in all free ſtates." Let ſuch conſiderations, with many more from the ſame oracles, have their due weight, and engage us to reflect, whether the proſpect of our *danger* from Papiſts be in any degree commenſurate, with the proſpect of our *ſecurity?* This queſtion ſhould ſtartle no man. Our *ſecurity* muſt ariſe from their co-operation, and from their having an intereſt in co-operating: Our *danger* from ther inability to add to the common ſtock of public proſperity, and from their excluſion from the ſtable proſperity in the land of their birth. It ſhould be conſidered alſo, Whether we have not perſiſted too long in meaſures, which however excuſable in our anceſtors, are doubtleſs, at this diſtance of time, no lines for us to be guided by? and, Whether any political ſcheme, oppoſed to the hearty co-operation of half our people, can ever bring us to that

ſummit of happineſs which our climate, our ſoil, and civil conſtitution intitle us to? And laſtly, Whether it be poſſible, in the nature of things, that our penal laws againſt this people, can produce any other conſequences for the time to come, than thoſe they have conſtantly produced for ſeventy years paſt—miſery to individuals; weakneſs to the public?

Let the voice of nature and experience be liſtened to: let men who were the organs *of both*, be attended to. * SWIFT who knew the intereſts of his native country well, and ſtudied them long, aſſures us from his own intimate knowledge of the inhabitants of this iſle, that the Papiſts, had as little *the inclination*, as they had *the power*, to attempt any active injury, againſt the preſent eſtabliſhment: But that great genius ſhared the fate of other prophets, ſent to notify impending evil. He was *not* liſtened to in his day. We the poſterity, however, ought to avail ourſelves of his predictions, leſt the judgment we feel, ſhould fall heavier upon us. Let us improve the diſpoſitions of the children of thoſe Papiſts he deſcribed, into an ability of being *uſeful*, not *inactive*, in the ſervice of their country.

No Proteſtant nation on earth is more ſecure from any domeſtic danger than this, unleſs we create it, thro' miſtakes, of which common men would be aſhamed in the ordinary occurrences of

* See Swift's works 8vo. Faulkner's Edit. vol. 4. p. 367, and vol. 6. p. 110, 111.

life; or thro' groundleſs fears, that unhappy malady, for which we hope this great length of time, *has provided a ſpecific*. We form a part of a mighty empire, and as we live neareſt the ſeat of it, we are, in conſequence, the moſt ſecure from any danger foreign or domeſtic, and likely from cauſes well known, to be the moſt favoured by a further extenſion of our commerce and manufactures: Let us not loſe the benefit of this ſituation, by an excluſion of half our people, from a *ſubordinate ſhare* in our *natural* advantages. Let us rather rouze them by encouragement, and take hoſtages of their fidelity, through the medium of ſecurity: means of all others the *moſt powerful*, and the *moſt effectual*. We are not (and let us thank Providence) in the caſe of a poor unguarded ſtate, fearful of a *wooden-horſe* from *without*, and equally ſo, of fellow-citizens *from within*, to open our gates for him. We are ſafe, where our anceſtors were in danger; and their remedy from a change of circumſtances, is become our diſeaſe. View the policy of the *Dutch* commonwealth: ſurrounded by a thouſand dangers from which we are exempt; they made their Popiſh ſubjects their friends; a part of their *barrier*, not againſt Popes (for Popes are no longer dangerous) but againſt mighty Popiſh neighbours at their doors. Their penal laws againſt thoſe diſſenting ſubjects, are mild and preciſe: they are brief alſo, and might be comprized within the compaſs of a ſheet of paper, inſtead of being ſwollen into ſo huge a

code of *clauſes*, *prohibitions*, *comminations*, *amercements*, and *interdicts*, as embarraſs the ableſt lawyers in diſcovering the true conſtruction; and ſubject the unfortunate objects, of our own penal laws in particular, to ſuch uncertainties, as very often to have no aſſurance, whether they are legally *innocent* or *criminal*, in many of their ordinary dealings between man and man! We ſurely have more reaſon than the States of *Holland*, to reduce the penalties againſt Papiſts into ONE act, of no great extent of pages. And we may be induced to adopt ſo wiſe a ſtep the ſooner, as moſt of the Britiſh Colonies in *North-America*, increaſe their numbers and conſequence every day, on this *Dutch plan*. From the extremities of the empire, they invite Iriſh Papiſts to a ſettlement among them, and they could never make any acquiſition of the kind, had they not granted our emigrants, the ſecurity denied them at home. Thoſe Colonies ſucceed alſo, (on the principle of ſetting up manufactories) in carrying off numbers of our poorer Proteſtant manufacturers, who, indeed, cannot hold out, againſt the dearneſs of proviſions in this country, where they ſhould be, and might be, cheaper than *in any other in Europe*. "Shall ſuch a mighty evil be tolerated? ſhall "the remedy well known, and within our reach, "be neglected? and ſhall we ſuſpend the power "of mending our affairs, to exert a power, fa- "vourable only to other nations to whom we "owe no favour?" Certain it is, that the ſpirit

of emigration is never produced in any country, without great pangs, and ſtruggles, before it becomes prevalent. It never did, never will, proceed from a ſpirit of wantonneſs; and to make it take effect, you muſt depreſs your people by poverty, and wants of every kind. More improvements have been made in *North-America*, within theſe ninety years, than in *Ireland*, in the courſe of five hundred; and it ſhould excite ſhame, as it muſt one day provoke indignation, to reflect, that ſo fine an Iſland as this, ſhould become a nurſery of labourers and manufacturers for that thriving Continent, as well as for other more contiguous countries: we want them at home: they will labour againſt us abroad.

No more need be ſaid on this affecting ſubject. Our ſtate bark is not now (as in former time) toſſed in a ſtorm, to juſtify throwing any of our goods over-board: but to be daily emptying it, *in a calm*, is ſuch a ſtrain of policy, as would aſtoniſh us, had we not inſtances of the like infatuation in modern times, and in other *European* countries.

THE END.

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